1:Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
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561 in the boys'.—During his entire life a man has age-segregating terms
885 applied to him.
591

A small girl is called mielk yoto (woman child, or small child).
561 A girl with breasts and without a child is referred to as wirkul mielk (breasts woman). From first pregnancy until death a woman is called gung-mun, literally, giver.

Very old men are more or less informally given an age-grade status and grouped under the term or-ung-o, and old women are called kar-kar-ang (white hair).

The tests of a man's ordinary status are (1) his responsibility in blood feuds and (2) the possession of children. The tests of a man's ritual status are (1) the areas of the sacred grounds into which he can penetrate and (2) the parts of the graded rituals in which he can participate. Although these two categories of status do not always coincide, they usually do, for it is felt that they should. Further, the effect of the ritual taboos of the different grades decidedly alters a man's ordinary participation in the community's daily round of events.

857 Small children, boys and girls, accompany their mothers to the lily
852 swamps or oyster beds. They are carried astride their mothers' necks and put their hands around the mother's forehead. (This method is used in the initiation rituals when the little boys are carried by the men, to indicate the age status of the neophytes.)

857 Little girls continue to accompany their mothers and help them at
868 first as a part of their play. Gradually they learn their part in the woman's division of labor. The division between men and women is
482 concretely expressed by the manner in which they carry their personal baskets. The women place the string handle of the basket over their foreheads and allow the basket to hang down their backs. The men place the string handle over their arms and wear the basket hanging from their shoulders.

857 In due time the small boys form little groups and play by themselves such games as throwing mud balls at one another, throwing slender sticks in the manner of their fathers, and they indulge in many kinds of improvised and not very formalized play.

Young boys, before and after circumcision, carry small fish spears with them, but do not use spear-throwers. They play along the water's edge with the spears, and occasionally strike a small fish, developing their throwing technique to considerable accuracy. At this period they

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
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open type. A tree root is sometimes used for the weft of the open-work basket. 285

A.—The closely woven type of basket has three norms in size: the large, the medium, and the small. The large type is eighteen inches in length with a variation of eleven and one-half to twenty inches, and a diameter at the rim of six to eight inches. There is a slight diminution of diameter in the basket from the rim to the bottom until, within three inches of the bottom, the circumference rapidly converges to a point. This basket is usually used by the women, but occasionally men carry one. Ordinarily it is undecorated. The women use it to gather food and carry their possessions, such as fire sticks, string, et cetera. 285 415

The medium-sized variety has a length-norm of eleven inches and a diameter of three inches. It varies in length from nine and one-half to fifteen inches, and the diameter sometimes reaches four and one-quarter inches. It is used almost entirely by men. They carry their personal belongings in it. Such things as stone spear heads wrapped in paper bark, red ocher, white clay, human hair and vegetable fiber string, and ceremonial objects carefully wrapped to protect them from the profane eyes of women are found in these baskets.

The small type of basket is very closely woven so that it can carry honey. It is owned by the men. It is seven inches long and has a diameter of two and one-half inches. There is little variation in this type.

All the above types are stitched about the rim with fiber string to keep the mesh from working apart, and to strengthen the basket and prevent it from becoming too flexible.

Baskets usually are painted red, black, yellow, and white for two-thirds of their circumference. The remaining third is left unpainted or undecorated, for it is the portion that fits against the wearer's body. The string handle is attached at the top of the basket at the points where the painting starts. It is composed of two to six strings sixteen inches long. Men wear their baskets under one arm with the string slung over the same shoulder. Women always wear theirs with the string handle across the forehead, the basket hanging against the back of the head and neck. The women's mode of carrying a basket is so characteristic that it is used by a man dancing a woman's part in a sacred ceremony. [531] [482]

Several types of designs are painted on the surface of the baskets (without a preliminary coating of red ocher): 285 415

(1) The surface of the basket is covered with hatched-in squares.

(2) A series of yellow, white and red spirals run from the rim to the bottom of the basket. 531

(3) The length of the basket is divided into three or four sections and painted in light and dark colors.

In addition to painting, an overstitching of pandanus fiber sometimes runs laterally about the basket.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
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285 415 531 Red parrot feathers are woven or stuck into the men's baskets. Usually they form a small band around the top of the basket, sometimes a solid mass over the upper half of it, and again they outline the ordinary square pattern that covers the entire surface. Human hair is sometimes stitched on for an outline instead of feathers. It is also used as a fringe over the entire basket or on a line about two or three inches from the top. Opossum fur is also used as a fringe and to outline the diamond pattern.—Any of the described baskets may have from two to eight pendants of parrot feathers hanging from the rim of the basket to several inches beyond its bottom.

285 415 [482] B.—The large type of open-work basket has the greatest size of any found in this area. It is thirty-two inches by eighteen inches in size and has a mesh of three-eighths of an inch. It is carried by a woman by means of a fiber-string forehead band and is usually used for gathering cycad palm nuts. The smaller-sized open-work basket has a mesh of one-quarter inch. It normally is seventeen inches deep, but varies from fourteen to eighteen inches. It has a diameter variation of from six to eight inches. All open-mesh baskets are stitched at the top. None is ever decorated, and all of them are used by women to gather food and to carry their personal belongings.

381 *Armlets, Wristlets, and Anklets.*—The native armlets are usually made by the plaiting technique. The plait consists of from two to five strands, two being the normal number. The armlet is normally from one-half to three-quarters of an inch in width, but sometimes reaches a width of two inches. The diameter corresponds to the size of the wearer's arm. Wristlets, but not armlets, are made on the arm of the wearer by another person and worn until they fall off.

Spear grass is the usual material. The grass is split into two or three pieces and soaked in water for one or two days before it is ready for use. A small stick or bone is used for tucking in the free strands to give the ornament a smooth appearance and keep the edges from breaking to pieces. [531] Sometimes fiber string is wrapped about the armlets, and many are painted with angular designs.

Women wear a series of armlets half up the upper arm, but men only put on a few.

Another variety of armlet is made from the end of a piece of cane. About a quarter-inch width of the reed is wrapped with fiber string which has feathers woven into it, or feathers are bound to the armlet with a cord. [237] Frequently from two to four parrot-feather string pendants, tipped with white cockatoo feathers, are hung from the armlet; these usually have a core of human hair on to which the feathers are wrapped with fiber string. The same technique is used for feathered string pendants as for other objects decorated with feathered string.

Anklets are sometimes made in the same way as armlets; but whereas the latter are worn by men, women, and children most of the time, the anklet is seldom worn.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
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Ainmaras.—These native artifacts serve as a woman's article of apparel, a mat to sit on, a sunshade, and a mosquito and fly net. All of the uses except the first, which is primary, are employed by both men and women. 285

The ainmara is made of the inner bark of the pandanus with the twining technique. When open it looks like the bottom of a large basket, and when folded like a quarter section of a circle; it is ordinarily twenty inches long and thirty-six inches at its greatest width. The folded ainmaras are a constant equipment of women.

Sometimes the warp is left as a six-inch fringe around the edge of the ainmara.

The half-circle variety of the ainmara (twenty-six and one-half inches by thirty inches) cannot be used for a sunshade or mosquito and fly net. Both are sometimes decorated with overstitched lines of pandanus fiber [531] or human hair string.

Ainmaras are made by both men and women, but usually by women. [462] The woman starts at the center and gradually widens it as she continues her twining. The enlarging surface is kept smooth and even by placing the mat on the sand and rubbing it with a smooth flat stone.

A small fiber string loop is put into the point of the folded ainmara [482] and a woman carries it on her arm at the elbow or by holding it in her hand. Most of the women wear no pubic coverings and when a strange man approaches the camp they cover their pudenda with the ainmara. [291 834] Sometimes a woman's modesty affects her in such a way that she hides her face rather than her pubic parts.

During the midday siesta men and sometimes women open the ainmara and double the body up beneath it to keep the flies off and protect themselves from the direct rays of the sun. During the sand-fly and mosquito months the ainmaras are used to keep off these insects.

3. Weapons

Spear-thrower (Mang-el)

The type of spear-thrower used by the Murngin and natives of north- 411 eastern Arnhem Land has a general distribution in Australia from the 171 Kimberleys of West Australia to the southern shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria. The particular variety of this weapon found among the Murngin reaches the Daly River in the west and south, the Katherine River, also in the south, and east to the Gulf of Carpentaria. The Groote Eylandt people possess a modification of the mangel type of spear-thrower. The Kimberley variety, although belonging to the same general type as the Murngin, is larger and is made of a different kind of material from that found among the Arnhem Land natives.

The length of the mangel ranges from thirty-four to thirty-nine inches, 411 with a norm of three feet. It is made of a hard wood of medium weight

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OI17 Murngin OI17

the various creatures and plants, created a sacred waterhole, Milnigarak, which later was inhabited by the giant mythical serpent, *wangaruk*.

One day the elder sister, when dipping water from the springs, accidentally polluted it with her menstrual blood.[42] This pollution so annoyed the serpent that he caused the water to boil over, i.e. flow out.[43] Even at the present day, when *wangaruk* becomes annoyed by the presence of unauthorized trespassers, he tries to leave the waterhole. But as soon as his head is visible the aboriginal medicine-men send him back by singing powerful chants, for should *wangaruk* start wandering over the land he would destroy everyone.

Wangaruk is of great length and size. He has a prominent nose, large eyes and a luxuriant beard. His head, however, is entirely bald, having the same appearance as a grey weathered boulder.[44] Although *wangaruk* has a voice like thunder, he does not appear to be associated with either the rain or the rainbow. Only the old men of the tribe are allowed to visit Milnigarak, drink its waters, or catch its fish.

On Pl. 87A the cross-hatched disc in the centre of the painting is the waterhole, Milnigarak. The other discs are non-sacred waters in the surrounding country, and the parallel lines native roads between them. The darker-coloured cross-hatched panels *a*, *b*, etc., represent the menstrual blood of the *Djunkgao* sister which polluted the waterhole.

The Djunkgao Sisters at Milingimbi

This is a fragment of a myth from Milingimbi, which relates how the *Djunkgao* women created a spring of water at Milmur, a place on the mainland, south of Elcho Island.

On Pl. 87D the two women, shown as lizards, with their carrying-baskets beside them, occupy the upper part of the painting. The design below symbolizes the sacred waterhole created by them.[45]

The Djunkgao Sisters at Goulburn Island

Plate 86F depicts a swamp at Goulburn Island which is associated with the *Djunkgao* sisters.

On panel *b* are a number of water-birds catching fish, one of them having a fish in its mouth. Panel *a*, which is similar to the sand-hill design of the *wredjingu mata* of Port Bradshaw,[46] represents the ripples on the swamp caused by the water-birds as they chase the fish.

42. This fragment has been borrowed from the *Warailk* myth, see p. 278.
43. The mythical serpents in the Oenpelli area cause their waterholes to overflow when they are annoyed (see p. 208, p. 218, etc.).
44. The head of the mythical serpent living in the spring near the Elcho Island mission station is said to resemble a stone.
45. This design is similar to that used for the sacred wells, shown in Pl. 87A. This may be a *mata* design belonging to a *duo* language group (see Fig. 61D).
46. The same design is present on a crayon drawing dealing with *Djunkgao* at Port Bradshaw. Berndt, 1952, Pl. 7.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OE17 Muragin OE17

and cut it up in the same manner as do the aborigines of today. The fishermen, the canoe and the pieces of turtle meat are now natural features at Jalbua.

In the upper right of the painting, Pl. 96B, *Minjapa* and *Wuluwil* are spearing the turtle. They are shown again seated on either side of a rock, a black circle. Below them are two casuarina trees, Pl. 91A,[98] which grow near the totemic place. The metamorphosed bodies of the two men, *Minjapa* and *Wuluwil*, now the turtle-rock[99] Ai-aika (Pl. 97A), are indicated at *a*, on the outer edge. There is a similar design immediately beneath the turtle. A semi-circular design near the tail of the turtle is the metamorphosed canoe, now a low red rock in the shallow water (Pl. 97C, on the left). The oval *b*, on the lower edge of the painting, is the carapace of the turtle (Pl. 97B). In the lower right are two pieces of flesh, *baiwa*, from the inside of the turtle's front flippers, and above is the club, *barlait*, with which the hunters killed the turtle. Above the carapace are two pieces of meat (more or less triangular figures) from the chest, called *trititri*. The fat from the creature is indicated by a barred oval on the extreme upper left. The turtle-spear and spear-thrower are on the right-hand edge at *c*. Immediately to the left of them are two more pieces of meat from the inside of the front flipper.

The fishermen, the canoe, and the parts of the dismembered turtle have all been transformed into natural features on the sea-shore at Jalbua. The turtle-rock, Ai-aika (Pl. 97A) is the metamorphosed bodies of the turtle fishermen, *Minjapa* and *Wuluwil*. The canoe is a small low rock on the extreme left (Pl. 97C), the carapace (Pl. 97B) and parts of the dismembered turtle (Pl. 97D) large eroded boulders on the coast.

There is hardly a rock or a tree in this locality that is not linked, in one way or another, with either *Tjambuwal*, the thunder-man, *Muruma*, the fisher-man, or *Minjapa* and *Wuluwil*, the turtle-fishers.

Tjuna-tjuna, Wurururnga and the Bukalatji

Two brothers, *Tjuna-tjuna*[1] and *Wurururnga*, were the first people to live on Dambalia (Bremer Island). They were paddling to the mainland in their bark canoe on one occasion when they noticed smoke among the trees and, on sneaking ashore, saw a *Bukalatji* man, *Djunmundia*, asleep by the fire. He was wearing, around his neck, a particularly large carrying-bag.

The brothers said to each other, "This is the man who killed our father last year. We now have our chance to pay him back."[2]

98. The same trees as those mentioned in the *Tjambuwal* myth.

99. The aborigines throw stones on the top of this rock in order to ensure success in catching turtles.

1. In the myth associated with the two carved heads, Pl. 139D, E, *Tjuna-tjuna* is called *Bauaramin*.

2. Blood feuds are common in Arnhem Land and the cause of most of the killings. They can, however, be ended at a ceremonial peace-making fight, the *makaraka*. See Warner (1937), p. 174, also the myth of crocodile and stingray and the origin of the first *makaraka*, Pl. 122D.

[text continues on p. 305]

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OII7 Murngin OII7

Three *dua* men, *h*, *h*, *h*, and two *jiritja* men, *j*, *j*, are performing the totemic dances of the dead man, the cross-hatching between the figures symbolizing the dust rising from under their feet. At *g* is a *dua* woman ready to take the skeleton apart, and at *m* a *jiritja* woman waiting with the bark coffin.

Plate 100B deals with the third and final stage of burial, the transference of the bones from the bark to the log coffin.[25] In panel *a* there are two *dua* log coffins and one *jiritja*, the *jiritja* being in the middle. In the left of panel *b* are two bark coffins, the left-hand one containing the bones of a *jiritja* man and the right-hand one the bones of a *dua* man.[26] The cross-hatched panels on both sides of the coffins are the forked sticks of the burial platform, and the vertical panel *c* the framework. The various performers in the ceremony are depicted in panels *d*, *e*, *f* and *g*, each group holding their hands and arms in a manner peculiar to their moiety and sex.

Thus, in panel *e* the *jiritja* women are dancing with their hands held at waist level, and on panel *f*, the *dua* women, with their knuckles held tightly against their heads. On panel *g*, the *dua* men are holding both hands above their heads, and at *d* the *jiritja* men have one hand held high and the other at waist level. In the right of panel *b*, two men are providing music for the dancers, the *jiritja* (right) blowing the drone tube and the *dua* (left) singing and beating his music sticks.

Plate 101D is divided into seven panels, each picturing some phase of the second, third or fourth stages of the ceremonies.

In panel *a* (lower right), the dead man, the central figure, is being lifted from the burial platform by four aborigines, two on each side. The small figure at the feet of the corpse represents one of the wives whose duty it is to clean the bones. In the next panel, *b*, one man is blowing the drone tube, and to the right of him another is singing and beating his music sticks together. The central figure of this panel is a woman wrapping the bones in paper-bark to remove the smell before they are placed in the temporary bark coffin. The four figures on the right are women performing the burial dance. On panel *c* (lower left) are six more dancing women.

The upper left panel, *d*, shows the bones, now encased in the temporary bark coffin, being passed to the mother, or the wife, of the deceased (central position). On the lower edge of the same panel, reading from the left, is a drone-tube player, one man beating his music sticks and singing and five women dancing. The two lines of men on the upper edge are performing a totemic dance at the same time as the bark coffin is being handed to the woman. The remaining panels depict the final disposal of the bones in the log coffin. In *e* are seven men and the log coffin containing the bones, whilst in panel *f* the women are dancing. Some men are playing the drone tube in panel *g*, others are beating the music

25. See bark coffin, Yirrkalla, Pl. 102C, D, and Milingimbi, Pl. 103B, C.

26. This painting suggests that on some occasions the bones of the members of both moieties are transferred to their respective log coffins at the same time.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OII7 Murngin OII7

A Hunting Scene

224 *532 This bark painting, Pl. 114C,[15] illustrates the experiences of an aboriginal who went out to spear kangaroos near Biluitja, a place about four miles west of Yirrkalla. In the upper right-hand are the lines of paired footprints of men and kangaroos. Whilst chasing the kangaroos, the hunter saw an emu, *kadbarnit*, standing in the grass (cross-hatching), eating the blossoms from a low shrub, called *wuri*, and further along, a fresh-water goanna, *bije* (upper left), running through the grass (cross-hatching).

Creatures at Bartalumba, Groote Eylandt

*532 Plate 114D[16] pictures the country adjacent to the Bartalumba headland, western Groote Eylandt.

Reading from the bottom, the anvil-like figure in the middle of panel *a* is a large cloud over the Bartalumba hills; bottom right is a diagonal line of birds, and above them at *b*, small clouds and rain. On the lower left edge at *c* are seven casuarina trees, with three pigeons above them. Over the central transverse cross-hatched panel, *d*, is another line of birds. The main anvil-shaped design at *e*, in the upper panel, is a cumulus cloud with rain (cross-hatching) falling from its lower edge. There are four cycad palms at *f*, in the upper left, with three pigeons roosting in the branches and three grasshoppers in flight. In the upper right, *g* is another group of cycad palms, and below them at *h*, two women, *Nabililungu* and *Wurati-laku*,[17] with their carrying-baskets (rectangles) and digging sticks beside them.

Kangaroos, Emus and Goannas

136 *532 There is no mythological story associated with the two bark paintings, Pl. 115A, D. They depict kangaroos, emus and goannas in every-day surroundings.

In the upper panel, Pl. 115A, is a kangaroo lying in the shade of a tree, after it had eaten a meal from the leaves of a yam, depicted as torpedo-shaped designs to the right of the creature. At *a* and *b* are two similar plants. The cross-hatched vertical band between them indicates a well-worn track made by other kangaroos. The kangaroo footmarks to the left are newly made.

Plate 115D shows a number of creatures which live round a lagoon called Doraka, situated several miles west of our base camp at Yirrkalla. Doraka lagoon is the oval in the centre, and above is a number of male and female emus and their tracks. In the lower left are two red kangaroos, the paired tracks of one of them being shown in the extreme lower left. On the lower right are four fresh-water goannas, *bije*.

The Whale, Dianmeri

*1773 225 This myth tells about three aboriginal fishermen, a whale and the death of one of the fishermen.[18]

15. Interpretation by F. D. McCarthy. 16. Interpretation by F. D. McCarthy.
17. See carved figure of *Wurati-laku*, Pl. 133C, D; myth, p. 436.
18. These men were distant relatives of *Mawalan*, the artist who produced this bark painting.

and pounding-stone with water during the process. The dried fruit may also be prepared by soaking in water or it may be mixed with the pulverised flesh and bones of the Red Kangaroo, *kärritjämbäl*, into a kind of paste, in which form it is greatly relished.

The only other instance, in my experience, of an attempt by Australian aborigines to store vegetable food, was on Western Cape York Peninsula, where the fruit of the Nonda Plum (*Parinarium Nonda*) was stored in deep holes sunk in dry sand, where it was kept for some time. The desiccated fruit was then prepared in the same way as *Buchanania* was treated in Arnhem Land, by pulverising the fruit, together with the hard stone or kernel, with a pounding-stone and soaking it in water. The two examples quoted above are of considerable interest and are important economically, for they appear to represent the beginnings of the practice among a nomadic hunting and food-gathering people of conserving and storing food.

The implements and domestic utensils used by the women are simple but well made, in each case by a technique which is perfectly fitted to the material available. The most important and characteristic implement used throughout most of the Continent is the yam stick. In Northern Australia, this is made from ironwood (*Erythrophloeum Laboucherii*), varying in length from about three feet to five, or a little more, sharpened at one or both ends, the digging points hardened by fire. This serves both as an implement for digging and as a weapon for the fighting in which women sometimes indulge.

Mesh baskets, as well as net or string bags of several types, each adapted to a particular purpose, are carried, and vary according to the chief food in season at the time. These food baskets are slung across the shoulder and suspended

down the back when empty, but when full the weight is usually borne on the forehead, or if the load is a heavy one, the baskets are carried on top of the head.

At first glance, Arnhem Land, like many other parts of Northern Australia, may appear to be barren and inhospitable and to offer little promise for the gathering of vegetable foods. But it must be remembered that over the centuries the aborigines have accumulated great experience of the food plants of their environment, which is handed on from generation to generation, and that they have developed highly specialised methods for exploiting every resource of the territory in which they live. The food resources of Arnhem Land are rich and varied and the natives have developed effective processes for the preparation of its vegetable foods, as well as many clever and ingenious devices for the capture of fish and game.

Again the cooking and preparation of food is far from the crude or haphazard business of popular imagination. *ŋätu* is not the only poisonous plant which is used as food. A number of other food plants also contain soluble poisons which are eliminated by simple and effective, but often prolonged, cooking and washing.

The women are dexterous and neat in all their technological processes, and to watch them at work in the preparation of vegetable food is an object lesson in the skilful and efficient use of the simplest equipment.

The task of the men is to provide animal food, both fish and game. As a rule, when a large quarry such as a kangaroo is killed, it is cooked and quartered on the spot, and is then divided equally among those taking part in the hunt. It is taken back to camp in a cooked or half-cooked state, often wrapped neatly in paperbark. Each man again divides his share of the game according to his obligations defined by

May, June and July, when the nights are cold, the natives sleep late and the camp is not active until well after daylight. As the people wake, they blow or fan the embers which have been smouldering through the night, and sit around the fire while they prepare for the day's hunting. No regular meal is eaten in the morning, but if any food remains over from the previous night they will warm this on the fire and eat it, before setting out.

About sunrise the camp is in full activity and the people now begin to move off. If each family is hunting as a separate unit the man picks up his spear-thrower and his bundle of spears—chiefly hunting weapons, with a fighting spear or two—and slings over his shoulder a small, closely-woven basket of the type called *büti mindir*. In this he carries a bundle of firesticks, and odds and ends of half-prepared string (*räkki*) in the form known as *duiyarrk* (bast fibre), together with pieces of beeswax and resin—material used for repairing spears—a knife, or scrapers of shell, a spear head or two, and generally his smoking pipe. If there is a young child, the burden of carrying it is shared by both parents. Very young babies are carried by mothers in elongated bark troughs of the same type as those used for carrying water. These are slung over the left shoulder and supported by the arm, leaving the right arm free to use the digging stick or yam stick. Frequently an older child is carried by the father astride his neck or shoulders, and from time to time the parents change over and relieve one another. Still older children follow behind, or run alongside, sharing the hunting activities of their parents and imitating them in the search for food, learning in this way the technique of hunting and gathering food which they will use throughout their lives.

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943)1949
OI17 Murngin OI17

is no pooling of resources; each collects food independently, working for her own family or family group. And again, as they travel, the women gather any materials they chance to find which may be of use later, in technology. In this way the people accumulate a reserve of string, fibre, (in various stages of manufacture), resin, bone for making of yam knives and awls, for domestic use, or for canoe and bark trough manufacture, and all the materials regularly used in technology. These are carried in the *bäti*, generally in the form of neat parcels wrapped in *bärrukälla* (*Melaleuca* bark). When the men make a chance visit to an area famed for its spear woods, pigments, or other special material, they gather this and carry it in reserve, for later gift or exchange purposes. Similarly, feathers or down (*rämmän*) of birds are collected, and *bulnyin*, the fur of the Brush-tailed Possum, which is valued also for ceremonial purposes, is stripped before the animal is cooked. The spines (*dimir*) of stingrays are also extracted and all materials useful for technological and ceremonial purposes are removed while an animal is being prepared, wrapped in neat parcels in paperbark and placed in the dilly bag until required for use. As this material is generally carried by the natives in their baskets when they are hunting, they are able to make use of any moments of leisure during a halt, or while food is being cooked, to repair and maintain implements and utensils.

Certain materials, particularly the fat of *kärritjämbäl* the Red Kangaroo, and of a few other animals, and the fat and feathers of some birds, chief of which are the Emu, Plain Turkey or Bustard, the Jabiru and Native Companion, which are difficult to approach, have a high "social value" and are greatly prized. These materials have a ritual sig-

Late in the afternoon, generally about sundown, the people will be seen returning to camp from the day's foraging, the women carrying baskets of food on their heads, rolls of teatree bark (*Melaleuca*) for sleeping mats or for use in cooking, and great loads of firewood. On arriving in camp they light the cooking fires and perhaps make another journey for firewood to carry them through the night, and to bring water from a nearby well or lagoon. If the food to be prepared is of a type which requires much washing during the preparation they may take it close to water to prepare, bringing it back to camp to cook. 512 [482] [513] [252]

Although men do gather some vegetable food, and women also capture small game, besides shellfish, the division of labour is sharply defined and at once evident. The woman is primarily the provider of vegetable food, collectively, *ŋäta*, the getter of wood and water, the maker of light baskets and the smaller and more finely made nets. The man is the hunter, the provider of animal food, and is responsible for the conduct of large scale drives for fish and game. The making of weapons, heavy implements, canoes, canoe paddles, heavy fish traps and baskets of coarse heavy fibre, called *ḳoiyapoi*[16] (fish-for) or *ŋätapoi' larr*, (*ŋätapoi*, food-for; *larr*, open or coarse in texture), for the carrying of heavy loads of fish and vegetable food, is also the responsibility of men. 462 [227] [415]

The first impression that any stranger must receive in a fully organised group in Eastern Arnhem Land is of industry. He cannot fail to see that everybody, man or woman, works hard, and that the work is well organised and runs smoothly. And he must also be impressed by the fact that with the exception of very young children who engage earnestly in play, much of which is imitative and 461 [857]

[16] *-poi*, suffix "for".

BASED ON THE ACTIVITIES OF ADULTS, THERE IS NO IDLENESS.

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943)1949
OI17 Murngin OI17

The man is the hunter and on him falls the responsiblity of providing the bulk of the animal food.

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Plate 7. An Arnhem Land hunter returns with a Red Kangaroo, known throughout most of this territory as *ḳärritjämbäl*, earning for himself the coveted title of "*tjämbait*".

Plate 8. A communal fishing drive with nets near the Liverpool River, North Central Arnhem Land. Communal enterprise is a feature of aboriginal hunting and fishing, the proceeds being shared among the participants as soon as the "drive" is finished.

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[p. 58(c)]

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
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141 516 in front of him, and in this position his knee-cap is on a level with his chin. Another habit, dependent on long shins and as common as the white man's hands-on-hips, is to stand on one leg with the other drawn up so that its foot rests above the other knee-cap. Anyone can laboriously do the trick but only a long-shinned aboriginal would find it comfortable.

142 Corpulence is not found in Arnhem Land, for Yulengor have little opportunity to put on weight where food is scarce, poorly balanced, and mostly roughage. Women [462] spend most of their time hunting, and frequently travel twenty or thirty miles a day in their search for food. By [482] carrying huge loads on their heads they acquire a unique poise and graceful carriage unknown elsewhere.

Men seem to have short necks, but this is due to chests being so well developed that they give the impression of being deliberately thrown out and upward. Back and pectoral muscles ripple the skin and the whole body tapers sharply.

Aboriginal hair is dark to black in colour, though on children's heads the tips are frequently bleached a reddish-brown. It is wavy and curly, but never fuzzy, and is fine in texture rather than coarse.

Eyes are set deep under beetling brows; pupils are smoky blue-black, and the rest of the eye is definitely not white, but rather veiled and blotched a yellow pastel shade. Finely chiselled ears lie close to the skull in both young and old; the nose, though deeply cut away between the eyes and uniformly broad, cannot be termed flat.

Aboriginal teeth are strong and well formed, and are astoundingly effective in snipping through bush rope, holding and straightening a spear in a vice-like grip, and masticating tough meat and fibrous foods. Teeth give little [164] trouble and most of them are retained for life, even if worn down to the gums.